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Southeast Siberia RX1
Ainu AB6 ●
Tungus RU5
Birar
Orochon
Daur
Solon
Manegir
Goldi RX3
Orok
Orochi
Olcha
Negidal
Kile
Samagir

/For a map showing the location of the various ethnic groups listed in the OWC headings above, see: 2: Schrenck, RX2 Gilyak, Category 116, pp. 418-423 (in English text)./

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE AINU OF NORTHERN JAPAN

A Study in Conquest and Acculturation

TAKAKURA SHINICHIRŌ

Translated and Annotated by

JOHN A. HARRISON

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

Any lengthy introduction to Professor Takakura's work, *Ainu Seisaku Shi*, would be redundant, for in his introduction he states what he is attempting to do and why he is doing it, and his following chapters are based on the assumption that his Japanese readers are not familiar with his subject and thus every step and detail is made as clear as possible. Therefore, the purpose of this preface is neither to paraphrase the author nor to elucidate the text, but to emphasize something the author omits, that is, the importance of what he has done.

Japan is a conquered land whose civilization, of fairly recent origin, is an amalgam of the cultures of groups of conquerors and groups of conquered. The origins of all these people are in shadow but the accessibility of the Japanese archipelago by sea permits them to have come from regions as far apart as the Polar North and the Tropics. If one forgets the stereotype of Japan as an isolated island chain off the continent and instead thinks of it as a vital segment of the life and movement of Maritime Northeast Asia and

[text continues bottom of P. 3(B)-analyst]

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then if one imagines Maritime Northeast Asia as a large broken ellipse which resembles a vast parenthesis, the concept of streams of immigration to Japan becomes quite clear. One half of the curve of the ellipse is the Japanese archipelago and the island of Saghalien. The other semicircle, the continent of Asia from Korea to the mouth of the Amur River. The halves of the ellipse are joined by the Sea of Japan, but are open at the south to the Yellow Sea and at the north to the Okhotsk Sea. These seas were highroads over which bands of raiders and colonists crossed and those who came to the archipelago often had to struggle against those who had come before and then, in their turn, resist newcomers. Sometime around the beginning of the Christian era one group had secured so strong a position that it began to bring surrounding areas under a single rule. Then began the real conquest of the entire archipelago, a conquest not complete until fairly recent times.

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In the course of the conquest and settlement of the main island of Honshu, Japanese military posts and

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.4(B)--ANALYST]

[P.3(B)]

between these two groups of readers, I have retained a great many romanized words and terms. This romanization will provide identity for the specialist but will not interfere with the general reader; English equivalents of all romanized words are given either in brackets or in footnotes. The numbered footnotes are those of Takakura. The lettered footnotes are those of the translator. The bibliography is primarily for the specialist. I don't know of any other critical list of materials on the Ainu and their relations with the Japanese that is of so much value as this one. 114

There are words and terms which are either almost untranslatable or whose English equivalents are clumsy and long. The equivalent is given the first time the word or term occurs and thereafter the romanized form is used alone. Such terms would be *Basho*, *Chigyō* and so forth. There are certain words so familiar in English usage that no translation is needed. These would be daimyō (feudal lord), samurai (warrior retainers), shogun (military dictator) and so forth. In any case where the usage or the translation itself seems doubtful or indeed in error I should be grateful if this were brought to my attention. Several people have graciously undertaken the laborious task of carefully reading the manuscript and they have made helpful suggestions which have been followed but any error is the responsibility of myself alone.

I also wish to make clear the various uses of the common Japanese designations for the Ainu and their territory which occur in the text. These terms are Ezo, West Ezo, west Ezo, East Ezo, east Ezo, Koshi, and Ōu. 101 ●

Generally speaking, the limits of Japanese settlement stopped in the seventh century at a line which ran from Tōkyō Bay on the Pacific to Wakasa Bay on the Sea of Japan. The entire area to the north of this line was termed Ezo but within Ezo there were several recognized territorial subdivisions. The area which comprises modern Echizen, Kaga, Noto, Etchū, and Etchigo was called Koshi and the remainder of northern Honshu was called Ōu. Ōu was divided into two massive districts. One was Mutsu which ran from Echigo to the Tsugaru Strait on the Japan Sea side and the other was Dewa which ran from north of Tokyo Bay to the Tsugaru Strait on the Pacific side. In the eighth century the Japanese began their push across the limits of settlement and by the end of the ninth century

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 6(B)--ANALYST]

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

While the definition of "colonization" varies among scholars, even those who interpret that word in its broadest sense hold the following to be necessary factors: that a social group migrates to a new land and that there they engage in social and economic activities. Very seldom is this new land uninhabited. There are always, with varying population densities and degrees 121

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 6(B)--ANALYST]

[P. 6(A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

they had nominal control of Ōu. The name Ezo then became a designation for that immense and dimly known territory comprised of Hokkaidō, the Kuriles, and Saghalien. In this book Ezo means Hokkaidō and the Ezo are the Ainu of Hokkaidō. Sometimes Hokkaidō is called East Ezo in contrast to West Ezo or Saghalien. In lower case, eastern Ezo and western Ezo refer to the eastern and western parts of the island of Hokkaidō. Saghalien is given its standard Japanese name of Karafuto and the Kuriles are properly the Chishima Islands. There is one other geographical term which may puzzle the reader at first unless explained. This is "mainland." This does not refer to the continent of Asia but to the main island of Japan—Honshu—and was constantly used by the Japanese in contrast to "the island" or Hokkaidō. Although all of Japan is insular, time, history, and distance somehow ingrained in the Japanese mind the idea that Hokkaidō was an "island" as against the "mainland" of Japan.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Cloth measure:

shaku = 14.9 inches.
tan = varies from 25 to 30 shaku.

Capacity measure:

10 shaku = 1 gō = .31 pint.
10 gō = 1 shō = 1.58 quart.
10 shō = 1 tō = 3.97 gals. or .49 bu.
10 tō = 1 koku = 39.7 gals. or 4.96 bu.

Distance measure:

1 ri = 2.44 miles.
cho = 5 chains = 119 yards.

Coinage weights (in silver):

1 fun = 5.79 grains.
10 fun = 1 momme = 2.12 drachms.
160 momme = 1 kin = 1.32 lbs.
1000 momme = 1 kuan = 8.28 lbs.

* Coins (average values 1700–1850):

60 momme (silver) = 1 ryō (gold).
4 kan (copper) = 1 ryō (gold).

shu and mon—Minor coins of constantly varying value. Impossible to find equivalents. Mon ran 1000 of a kar. Shu ran by silver weight.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

of civilization, aborigines and, from the contacts of colonists with natives, there arises the "native problem." The solution to this problem, i.e. "a native policy" is, along with land problems, the greatest concern of a

* The Tokugawa currency was a complex one with shifting units and values and gold and silver coins generally circulated by weight and not by unit value.

101 ● 804 804 436 121 [804] [436] [P. 6(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Japan AB1
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J
121 The arrangement and critique of these valuable
experiences, gained over a long period of time not only is of the greatest value to Japan's native policies but will furnish excellent material for discovering principles

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shadows." The union of these two groups in the ancient Japanese chronicles leads to the portmanteau work *Kumaso*. *Kumaso* then refers to peoples living in two distinct areas of Kyushu. At the same time the chronicles which give us this information clearly speak of a third group, the *Hayato*, who probably resided in modern Satsuma province. The assimilation of all three groups left behind in the records an identification of all three under the name of the most warlike and feared and therefore most likely to be remembered, i.e. *Hayato*. Therefore, while *Hayato* is logically confused with *Kumaso* and a sound inference may be drawn that they mean the same, an equally sound inference shows that these two names may denominate three separate groups of inhabitants in ancient Kyushu.

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The term *Ezo* is somewhat easier for identification. *Ezo*, used continually in this work to identify those people known to the West as Ainu is a corruption of a corruption. It comes from *Ebisu* which in turn comes from *Emishi*. *Emishi* in turn is a corruption of the ancient aboriginal words "*emush*" and "*Yumasu*" meaning literally "sword" and figuratively referring to the great fighting qualities of these people. Now while a keen appreciation of their war abilities led the Japanese to refer to the aborigines by the name of a weapon, the fact is that these aborigines of whom the Ainu are a remains were more properly called the *Koshi*, and the meaning of *Koshi* leads us in its turn through a number of interesting corruptions. Ancient *Koshi* was in the Izumo region and the Izumo people of Japanese legend came into the *Koshi* country in prehistoric times. The *Koshi* were partially assimilated by the Izumo people and partly pressed to the eastward. Those forced to the east are well known in historic times as the *Koshi no Emishi* or "fighting Koshi" and their historic territory included Echizen, Etchû, Dewa, Echigo, Tsugaru, and Hokkaidô, or all of Japan north of the Tôkyô area. Now in time *Koshi* changed to *Kushi* and even in contemporary times the natives of the Kuriles were called *Kushi*. The designation *Kushi* underwent a change of sound first to *Kui* and then later to *Kai*. The fighting aborigines of the Northeast then were known interchangeably as the *Kai* or the *Emishi*. *Emishi* in time gave way to *Ebisu* which is a rather unusual change for while *Ebisu* specifically refers to the *Kai* people, the *Iroha Jirui Shô*, which is the first Japanese dictionary and which was compiled near the end of the Heian period, indicates that all aliens in Japan were called *Ebisu*; yet it was commonly used for merely one group—the *Kai*. *Ebisu* in its turn gave way to the corruption *Yezo*.

The origin of the word *Ainu* seems rather clear, the only point of dispute being whether it is basically of Japanese or aboriginal descent. That is, was *Kai* a designation originated by the aborigines or by the Japanese, for it is from *Kai* that the word *Ainu* comes. When the Japanese came into contact with the *Ezo* of the far north of Japan, an honorific suffix "*na*" was added to *Kai* and these *Ezo* were called *Kaina*. In time the initial consonant was dropped and *Aina*, *Ainu*, *Aino* came into use. Records of the Tsugaru region from the seventeenth century state that Ainu who took Japanese names were distinguished by the addition of *inu* or "dog" to their name and there is a school of thought which believes that *Ainu* comes from *inu*. However, I prefer the more logical *Kai—Kaina—Ainu* sequence, particularly as late Tokugawa records show that *Kaina* was still in use in interior Hokkaidô and Karafuto. One further point deserves mention and that is the question of whether the Ainu of Hokkaidô are indeed related to the Ezo of Northern Japan. I think there can be little question of this. I refer the specialist to the third chapter of Kindaichi's *Ainu Kenkyû* where the relationship seems conclusively proven. I

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
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basic to general native policies. However, the purpose of this book is not to study our policy toward the Ōu Ezo but to limit ourselves to examining those policies and problems concerning the Ainu of Hokkaidō who are, in all probability, a division of the Ōu Ezo. The reason for this limitation is that there are abundant records of the Ōu region which, quite early, attracted the attention of scholars, for Ōu had close connections with the central government and that region was within the pale of Japanese civilization. There are many monographs on Ōu but the Hokkaidō situation, probably because it had little connection with the central government, has attracted little attention and no work of importance has yet been published.[4]

I have not only limited this work to a study of our policy *vis à vis* the Hokkaidō Ainu but, within this limitation, I intend to deal with it as a phenomenon in our colonial history, that is, purely as a problem in historiography. I shall consider our historical relations with the Ainu, the problems arising between Japanese and Ainu, the policies undertaken to solve these problems, the changes in the problems as a result of the policies, and I will use all of these factors to uncover that relation between colonist and native which is the basis of a native policy.

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The nature of Hokkaidō as a colony has constantly developed and changed. At first it was but a commercial colony occupying only a small area. The chief objective then was profit from trade with the natives. It then became an exploited colony[5] wherein a small colony of mainlanders half compelled the natives to engage in fishing and hunting and where the natural resources of the area were exploited. Finally, Hokkaidō became a settled colony with a great number of mainlanders permanently residing and engaging in industry. According to Supan's classification, based on the relations between colonists and the natives, Hokkaidō has developed, as the number of mainlanders increased, through the following stages—native colony to mixed colony to resident colony. Accordingly, the native policy changed from one of non-assimilation to

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realize that a footnote is no place to settle lengthy linguistic problems and I hope to discuss these series of derivations later and at length. For the present this brief note on the names *Kumaso*, *Hayato*, *Ezo*, and *Ainu* seems sufficient without being wearisome. I am grateful to Professor Ensho Ashikaga of the University of California at Los Angeles for his ungrudging help in unraveling the intricacies of the *Kojiki*, the *Izumo Fudoki*, the *Nihongi*, and the *Manyoshū* in regard to these matters.

[4] A publication of the Hokkaidō prefectural Government, the *SHS*, is the first colonial history of Hokkaidō, but I was so much occupied with articles on colonial policy that I could not touch on native problems to any extent and the "Hokkaidō Kyūdojin Hogo enkaku shi" (History of the development of the protection of the Aborigines of Hokkaidō) therein is merely a chronology.

[5] P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *La colonisation chez les peuples modernes*, Paris, Alcan, 1908. There are varying theories about the terms used by Leroy-Beaulieu. Interested only in similarities, I have merely borrowed the words.

[P 8(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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AE 175 648

the government [a] in suppressing the revolt. Facts can be listed which show that the policy of the government of Japan, in this period, was aimed not only just at taking political and economic control of the natives, but also at developing their culture and that this policy was comparatively successful.

However, when, in the middle of the Heian [794–1192] period, the control of the central government began to disintegrate, Hokkaidō was left wholly in the hands of the powerful Abe family who ruled the area as though it were a foreign land and who negated the earlier policies. The Abe also discontinued the tribute of the Ezo to Kyōto. There are practically no noteworthy historical materials on native or colonial policy for this period. More detailed materials are available only after the Matsumae gained their independence which means that in this latter period the number of mainlanders settling in Hokkaidō increased and that these immigrants enjoyed the power to engage in their individual activities. Because of the gap in historical materials the time of the beginning of the independence of the Matsumae is taken as the foundation period for the study of native policy in Hokkaidō, as distinguished from the policy toward the natives of Ōu. There are no records to show exactly when mainlanders began migrating to Hokkaidō.[1] However, it seems that at the beginning the majority were castaways [2] who were unable to return, in addition to those who came to trade and to fish and who later settled the island, and those who were exiled. Their numbers were small and their power weak and, therefore, it is probable that they were assimilated, politically and socially, into the native society and had no independent activity. In later years, to escape the perils of war and famine in Honshu and particularly in the Ōu region, the number of immigrants gradually increased and we can see a conscious and separate settlement. Nevertheless, even these later immigrants were considered as of the Ezo notwithstanding the fact that the *Sutwu Daimyōjin Eshi* [*SDE*] and other records distinguish them from the aborigines of Hokkaidō by calling them *Watari To* [Watari group].[b]

A [192]

[a] *Ibid.* 34, section of March 878 during the reign of Yōzei.

[1] Recent archaeological investigation has revealed many remains said to be those of the Ainu in Hokkaidō but which do not belong to the Jomon culture. Instead they closely resemble the remains of the Nara period [710–794]. See Gotō Moriichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru kofun shutsudo no ibutsu kenkyū (Study of the remains from old tombs in Hokkaidō), *Kokogaku Zasshi* 24 (2-3). It is probable that these remains were brought into Ezo in or about this period. *SHS* 2: 12-14 and 24.

[2] That there were a considerable number of these can be seen from the fact that in 1688 a crew exploring the shores of the Ishikari River counted a number of castaways who had married natives and settled among them.

A [162] [101]

[b] There may be a reason for considering these immigrants as of the Ezo. Chronologically and territorially there are three distinct historical divisions of the Ezo. There are the *Koshi* who dominated much of prehistoric Japan, then the later *Kai* who dominated the Northeast, and finally the Ezo or Ainu of Hokkaidō, Karafuto, and the Kuriles. But in the days of the *Koshi* and then the *Kai* there were further distinctions. Ezo

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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AE 175 C48 A [199]

The *Watari To* seem to have had a social organization similar to the aboriginals of Hokkaidō, that is, not far advanced from a primitive communal society. This may be because the *Watari To* were basically Japanized Ezo from Ōu. Those of the Yamato race who were among them seemed to have adapted themselves to the lives of the Ezo or were in the process of so doing.

In later years the campaigns between the imperial families and the military families extended to the Ōu region and, as a result of continuous warfare among the great clans, those who looked forward to new opportunities in a new world moved into Hokkaidō. These later immigrants are clearly distinguished from the Ezo. They not only lived as Japanese, but had an advanced state of social organization—the feudal.

Those with power built forts called *Yakata*, ruled over the people within their territory and eventually came under the control of the Andō clan of Tsugaru. The Andō were related to and successors of the Abe as feudal lords of the north.

In 1456 the area between Shiokubisaki in the east and Atsusabu Kawa in the west became the central area of settlement for the mainlanders. Although they lived among the Ezo from Mukawa in the east to Yoichi in the west, they tended to settle at points along the coast.[9] The cause of this movement may be explained on the same grounds as those which guide our national development southward. However at this stage there is still no significant native policy. It only becomes of significance when the Matsumae unite the mainlanders and present a solid front of opposition to the natives. The expansion of the immigrant colonists was bound to come into conflict with the interests of the natives. The immigrants were mostly fishermen. In those days, when commerce was undeveloped, the rulers depended for their livelihood on taxes in kind collected from these fishermen, else at times the clans themselves were obliged to engage in fishing, as pointed out by the author of the *Ezo Koku Shiki* [Private Records of the Ezo country].[10] Therefore, as the number of im-

A [162] [101]

who were either captured or who voluntarily accepted Japanese rule were called *ifu* while Japanese who married Ezo or who left the Japanese limits to accept Ezo life and rule, and there was a surprising number of these, were called *fushū*. Therefore, it is logical for old Japanese records to consider a group as of the Ezo and yet separate from them.

[9] *Shiragi no Kiroku* (copy in the Hakodate Library), 15.

EA [221]

[10] *Ezo Koku Shiki* says, "In those days when the Matsumae came to the country there were no officials on duty there and no vessels from other countries but only a few ships from Zennan Bu and Tsugaru and, because there were no houses as today, only a few fishermen. When a vessel did enter port the crew would stay at the homes of retainers and managers, there being no inn and they would depart as soon as they had completed their business, so there was but little exchange. From early times to today cultivated land has been scarce, the topography being mountainous. Ground rent was left unpaid and the warriors engaged in fishing. . . ." The record goes on to illustrate how, regardless of rank or caste, all engaged, during the herring season, in fishing. "In the homes of retainers and stewards even the women and servants, leaving

knew how to make earthenwares, the latter period of Barbarism[11] or according to Müller-Lyer the period of the advance from the highest hunting stage.[12] But the Ainu living in the period we are about to study led a much more advanced life.

The Ainu were not an isolated people. In the north they came into contact with the nomadic Orokko and Gilyak on Karafuto. A strong Manchurian influence was introduced through trade with the Santan across the sea while Karafuto itself was, in effect, a Manchurian colony exerting influence on the Okhotsk coast of Hokkaidō.[a] To the south the Ainu were continuously in contact with Japanese culture.[13] If it is true, as common opinion holds it to be, that the *Watari To* mentioned in the *SDE* were Ezo who moved from the Ōu region,[14] then the influence of Japan dates back more than a millennium and in fact recent excavations tend to prove this.[15] However, communication between the Ezo and the Japanese had been frequent even before that; that the Ezo were strongly influenced can be seen from the discovery of both Jomon and Yayoi earthenwares in Ezo regions.[16] To the east the Ainu had, from early times, been in contact with the natives of the Kuriles and Kamchatka.[17] The most dominant influence of all of these culture contacts was the Japanese, with the Manchurian second. Japanese culture was higher than the others and the Ainu were in contact with it over a longer period of time and they were closer to the Japanese central government. Japanese contacts with the Ezo were not limited to the southwestern regions but extended also to Sōya and Akkeshi and even to Karafuto and the Kuriles. Under these diverse influences the economic culture of the Ezo gradually improved. The introduction of vegetable fibre cloth completely changed the clothing habits of the Ainu and, while cotton when first imported from Japan was used

[11] Morgan, *Ancient society*, 10.

[12] Müller-Lyer, *Phasen der Kultur und Richtungslinie des Fortschrittes.*

[a] Santan was a catch-all word used to denote both the continental area across from the island of Karafuto and the people in that area. It comes from *Janta* or "nomads" a Gilyak name for the nomadic tribes who lived between the Amur River and the sea. The Ainu corrupted *Janta* into Santan and the Japanese picked up the term. The Gilyak lived in the Amur estuary area. Orokko is the Ainu term for the Manchurian tribes that lived on Karafuto. See J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the Island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 99 (2): 96-97, 1955.

[13] Yonemura Kioe, *Kitami Kyōdo Shimo* (Local history of Kitami), 12.

[14] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu studies), 367 ff.

[15] Kōnō Hiromichi, Hassabu mura no iseki hakkatsu ki (Report on the excavations of the ruins at Hassabu) and Takakura Shinichirō, Hassabu mura no iseki ni tsuite (On the excavations at Hassabu), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10.

[16] *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shusei*, 21 [Jomon and Yayoi are type names for the stone age pottery of Japan].

[17] Torii Ryūzō, *Kyokutō Minzoku* (Races of the Far East), 304-310.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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It is obvious that no satisfactory results came from this shifting policy. Even the situation on Etorofu Island, which was the showcase of native policy, was not good as can be seen from the entry for June 16, 1808, in *Ezo Nikki*;

A [101]

The Ezo used as the guide was not called Ezo but Aino since the Ezo thought it humiliating to be called by the former name. *Recently the natives have been pleased when they are called village people (murakata) although they are not aware of the meaning.* Furthermore, there are approximately twenty natives on Etorofu who have shaved their beards, changed their clothes and, in appear-

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previously known, it is not an easy task to develop the island or to influence the natives to change their fashion in costumes or in other ways. And yet there seems to have been a tendency for those in charge of various *Basho* to win credit for themselves. Now, although it is the policy to have the Ezo themselves volunteer to change their customs, there is nothing further from Bakufu policy than to have them induced to so volunteer. We therefore instruct you to observe the following:

A [241]

1. In regard to farming—it is permissible for those going to Ezo from Japan to cultivate a suitable area within the *Basho* where they reside. However, cultivation of land outside the *Basho* is to be undertaken only after approval from higher authority. The Ezo shall not be encouraged to farm.

2. Those who go to Ezo from Japan shall not engage in fishing in any manner which interferes with the livelihood of the natives.

3. Needless to say, the customs of the Ezo are not to be interfered with for the time being. Efforts will be made, however, to maintain those industries already fostered among the Ezo. Instructions may already have been given by those in charge of Etorofu and Kunashiri but the following policy is applicable not only to those two islands but to all Ezo. That is, even in cases where the Ezo themselves request permission to change their ways, this request will not be granted on the spot but referred for approval to higher authority. Now on Etorofu a number of Ezo requested this change during the past year and these requests were granted. Therefore, it is feared that, if for this island a policy of passing these requests along for the approval of higher authority is adopted, suspicion may be aroused among the natives. Since Etorofu is of first importance and since the feelings of the people there ought not to be neglected, it is permitted there to accept the requests of the more sincere natives. Upon arrival at your post and after looking over the situation, this matter will be taken up again for discussion.

4. Since such work as erection of houses, building of ships, etc., is practically completed, you will refrain from undertaking any new construction and you will limit yourself to repair and maintenance. Furthermore, care will be exercised in purchasing goods outside your *Basho* in order to conserve your budget. At the same time it must be borne in mind that it is not the intention of the Bakufu to decrease relief work among the Ezo or to cut down on the allowances of managers and others. Therefore, give due consideration to public opinion that it may not be aroused against the Bakufu.

5. Take care to do nothing which will have any ill effect on the interests of Bakufu and do not carry our new ideas in a careless manner.

The above instructions will be conveyed to officials at each *Basho*. Since a Magistracy is to be established for the first time all officials will observe these instructions until that office starts functioning and all will be careful to observe traditions and govern with consideration having in mind that this will be a long-term administration.

March of the Year Inu

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

there are to be found many points of contact in their psychic and religious beliefs. It is this, in part, which binds us together.

There can be no doubt that the Ainu now living are the last remnant of one of the old aboriginal races formerly occupying Japan. They were here when the first Emperor, Jimmu Tennō, and his retainers crossed from Kyūshū to Yamato about 660 B. C. The origin of the race is lost in obscurity. The old traditions, still current among some folk, of their descent from brute beasts are incredible. But their language seems to point, both in vocabulary and grammar, to an Aryan ancestry.

The present habitat of the Ainu is the southern half of Saghalien and Hokkaidō. The largest numbers of them are to be found in Hidaka, Tokachi, and Ifuri-koku. But place-names prove them to have once inhabited the whole of Japan. It appears that at first the Japanese called them *Tsuchi-gumo* which, when written with the Chinese characters, means "Earth-spiders." They also called them *Ebisu* or *Emisu* which means "Barbarians." But when properly analyzed, the old name Tsuchi-gumo or "Earth-spiders" comes to mean, in Ainu, "Pit-dwellers." This is exactly what the ancient Ainu of Hokkaidō and Saghalien were during the cold seasons of the year.

It is pertinent to remark here that many of the place-names throughout the whole of Japan show an Ainu origin. The beautiful Mount Fuji, formerly an active volcano, is one of these, for its name in the Ainu tongue really means "Ancestress" and "Fire Goddess." Fire is always called *Fuji* by this people when worshipped, but at other times its name in Hokkaidō is *Abe*. In ancestor worship, the men always worship the mother of the race in the fire upon the hearth under the name *Fuji*, "Grand-mother." Subashiri, at the foot of Fuji, means in Ainu "Steaming-land."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XVI

THE ORIGIN OF THE AINU, AND THE CREATION

The problem of the origin of the Ainu is still uncertain and one does not care to theorize on the matter just yet. It is therefore the purpose of the present chapter to give the simple Ainu version of the matter. Their ideas on the subject are very quaint and simple and most characteristic, and it is these I intend to set forth as much as possible in their own language, simply and truthfully translated. 101

Many of the old people believed that their ancestors were descended from one whom they called Aeoina Kamui, i.e. "The Divine Tradition Holder," not, indeed, by way of natural generation, but as being in the first instance created by him. Although he himself is spoken of as divine, yet he was sent by the Supreme God of Heaven with full instructions as to how to form people, teach them how to make and use useful instruments and implements, instruct them in hunting and fishing, and how to make fetishes and worship the various deities and perform religious rites and ceremonies. And so it comes to pass that he is always spoken of with great respect. I have never heard him worshipped by name, but I suspect many do pray to him on occasion. How he stopped cannibalism among them was mentioned in a former chapter. 173

The Ainu admit that their race is not nearly so numerous as it used to be. Even since my first arrival I have seen whole villages disappear. The people grieve over this, but have settled down to accept the fact, in despair of ever rising again. 161

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

The principal Japanese settlements are Sapporo, Hakodate, and Nemuro. The population of the island is confined almost entirely to the coast. Small villages of Japanese and Ainos are scattered along the coast a few miles apart, wherever the locations are favorable for fishing or collecting seaweed. On the northeast coast the principal towns are Mombets, Abashiri, and Shari. Between Hakodate and Nemuro are Kushiro, Horoidzumi, Tomakomai, and Horobets. On some of the larger rivers, as the Ishikari, the Kusuri, and the Tokachi, there are small settlements of Ainos. On routes of travel far up in the mountains there will be found isolated stations, where one can obtain shelter and food with changes of horses. Otherwise the interior is an uninhabited wilderness, the abode of bears, foxes, and other animals.

The total population of the Hokkaido, which is the official designation of that section of Japan which includes Yezo and the islands off the northeast coast, is stated as 226,236. I am unable to state the number of persons on the island of Yezo alone, but there are very few on Kumashiri and Yeterof, and the Kuriles are practically uninhabited. Of this number about 16,000 are said to be Ainos. The distribution of the Aino population will be more fully considered in another place.

The principal support of this population is the fisheries, which are of great value. The following statistics of the fisheries were kindly furnished from the official reports by Mr. K. Ito, president of the Hokusui Kyokwai, or Northern Fisheries Society:

FISHERIES OF YEZO—PRODUCTION OF 1886.

Fish.	Production.	Where exported.
	Koku.*	
Spring salmon, *Masu*, salted	5,929,489	Main island.
Fall salmon, *Sake*, salted	110,729,285	Do.
Roche de mer, *Iriko*	1,027,589	197,311 catties sent to China.
Seaweed, *Kombu*	186,373,249	29,050,567 catties sent to China.
Oysters, dried	4,773,940	All sent to China.
Fish guano:		
Herring	572,374,301	Other islands of Japan.
Salmon, *Masu*	15,511	Do.
Iwashi (*Clupea melanostoma*)	22,230,309	Do.
Other kinds	14,895,711	Do.
Fish oil:		
Herring	7,006,905	Unknown amount exported to United States.
Iwashi	665,600	Do.

* One koku of fish is about 333 pounds. One koku of oil is about 40 gallons.

THE AINOS.

The Ainos are a peculiar race, quite distinct from the Japanese now found; a mere remnant of a once numerous people in Yezo and on the islands Kumashiri and Yeterof. The application of the name Aino requires to be more carefully restricted than it has been. In Yezo we

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

hear of the Yezo Ainos, the Tsuishikari Ainos, and even of the Kurile Ainos. In this communication the name Aino is applied only to those people who are natives of Yezo. The Tsuishikari Ainos who recently came from Saghalien, and who are undoubtedly the same people but with slight differences in language and custom, will be invariably distinguished by the full name. The so-called Kurile Ainos are wrongly named. This name is given to the pit-dwellers of Shikotan, who are quite distinct from the Ainos. Mr. John Batchelor, of the Church Missionary Society, who has lived among the Ainos of southern Yezo for a number of years, and who has recently published a grammar of the Aino language and is about to publish a dictionary also, contends that the proper name for the people is Ainu. The best account of the Ainos of Saghalien is to be found in the very valuable work of Dr. L. Schrenck, "Reisen und Forschungen in Amurlande," vol. III. It has been said that the word was derived from the Japanese *inu*, meaning dog. This is what the Japanese assert, and they say that the Ainos are such an inferior race of people that they were called dogs. But Mr. Batchelor points out that the Japanese* more frequently derive the word from *ai-no-ko*, children of the middle. According to this author the word is not of Japanese origin, but, in the language of the people, means "men," descendants of Aioina. Aioina is the name of the first ancestor of the Ainos, who is worshiped as such by the people, but in English and also in German writings they have long been known as Ainos, and it seems unnecessary to make a change at this late day.

Formerly, it is said, the Ainos were subject to a powerful and wealthy chief, who lived at Piratori and received tribute from all the Ainos in the land. This is related by the Ainos themselves. However this may have been in the past, no traces of allegiance to a single ruler now remain. Each village has its own chief and a number of officers who assist him in preserving order and punishing wrong-doers. The chieftainship is hereditary in the family. It has recently been shown by the researches of Milne, Morse, Chamberlain, and others that Japan proper was once inhabited by a race of people different from the present Japanese, and from a comparison of the remains found in shell-heaps and kitchen-middens in many parts of Japan, even as far south as Kiushiu, with similar remains found in Yezo, it is thought that the Ainos once inhabited Japan. The evidence upon this subject seems at first sight rather conflicting, but on the whole it is tolerably conclusive. It is convincing if we consider only the probable, indeed the almost positive, Aino origin of geographical place-names in every part of the archipelago.† It is apparently weak if we consider only the very remote relations to be observed between the languages, mythologies, and

* Transasiatic Society Japan, XVI, 18.

† The Language, Mythology, and Geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino Studies. Prof. B. H. Chamberlain.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

for "doing in Ainuland as the Ainu does," especially as regards the food, I was not much the worse for it in the end. I never use force when I can win with kindness, and in my small experience in Hokkaido and other countries I have always found that real savages in their simplicity are most "gentleman-like" people. With few exceptions they are good-natured, dignified, and sensible, and the chances are that if you are fair to them they will be fair to you. Civilised savages and barbarians I always found untrustworthy and dangerous.

The Island of Yezo, with the smaller islands near its coast, and the Kurile group, taken together, are called "the Hokkaido." The Hokkaido extends roughly from 41° to 51° latitude north, and between 139° and 157° longitude east of Greenwich.

My view of the origin of the word Ainu is this: *Ainu* is but a corruption or abbreviation of *Ai-num*, "they with hair," or "hairy men," or else of *Hain-num*, "come with hair," or "descended hairy." Considering that the Ainu pride themselves above all things on their hairiness, it does not seem improbable to me that this may be the correct origin of the word, and that they called themselves after the distinguishing characteristic of their race.

The word Ainu is a generic term, and is used both in the singular and plural; but when specifying, the words *Kuru* (people, men), *utaragesh* (woman), etc., are generally added to it: viz., *Ainu kuru*, Ainu people, Ainu men; *Ainu utaragesh*, an Ainu woman; *Ainu utaragesh utara*, several Ainu women.

The Ainu population of Yezo is roughly reckoned by the Japanese at about 15,000 or 17,000 souls, but at least half this number are half-castes, and in my opinion (and I have visited nearly every Ainu village in Yezo) the number of thoroughbred Ainu does not exceed 8000 souls.

The illustrations in this book are my own, and are the reproductions from sketches which I took on the spot. They may not show much artistic merit, but they seem to me to be characteristic of the country and the people, and I hope that my readers will be impressed with them in the same way.

A. HENRY SAVAGE LANDOR.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu have a nearly circular tibia. I do not know of any other existing race in the world in which such an extraordinary phenomenon occurs, and the tibia struck me also as being extremely long, while the femur appeared proportionately short. However, with the exception that the tibia is more circular than with the Ainu of Yezo, I could not see any material difference between them and the other Ainu. As we have already seen, each tribe in Yezo has certain characteristics which other tribes have not; each tribe has conformed its habits to the climate of the district in which it lives, as well as to other circumstances; and each of these tribes has adopted a slightly different architecture for its dwellings; but it is plain that all belong to the same original race. The same might be said of the Shikotan Ainu. At this point it is well to explain that the Kurile Islands not many years ago belonged to Russia; but they were exchanged for the southern half of Sakhalin, then belonging to Japan, and now form part of the Japanese Empire. The two larger islands—Kunashiri and Etorofu—are inhabited mainly by Ainu and a few Japanese, who migrate there from Yezo during the fishing season; while the Island of Shikotan is inhabited by sixty Ainu, brought there from the northern islands of Shirajima or Shimushir, and Urup, leaving thus all the islands north-east of Etorofu uninhabited.

Of Kunashiri and Etorofu I shall say no more in connection with the pit-dwellers, but a few more words on the Shikotan inhabitants may prove interesting, especially as people have been led to believe that they are the descendants of the Koropok-kuru, and not really Ainu.

I shall begin by saying that the Shikotan people call themselves Kurilsky *Ainu*, and that they speak both Ainu and Russian. Their features are not very massive, and their cheek and temple bones slightly project. They have strong mouths, and eyes identical in shape and colour with those of the Yezo Ainu. They are as hairy; they live by fishing and hunting; they clothe themselves in skins; and they are fond of beads and shining ornaments. Their huts have angular roofs, and are built in the same style as those of the Yezo Ainu, but on a smaller scale. The interiors are also alike, and equally dirty, if not more so. The Ainu huts at Shikotan are sixteen

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

by Hitoshi Watanabe

THE AINU are the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and long heads. In 1939 the Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated at 160,000, and there had probably been little change since 1854. There were possibly another 10,000 scattered in the other islands.

Hokkaido is an island of about 30,000 square miles, situated north of the main Japanese island of Honshu, between 41° 30′ N. and 45° 30′ N. and 140–145° E. The northern end of Hokkaido is about twenty nautical miles away from Sakhalin, and to the north-east the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The climate of Hokkaido is sub-arctic; yearly mean temperature varies between 5·2° C. and 7·6° C., with a long snow season from November to May. The island is well wooded with fir, spruce, birch, oak and elm. Most of the rivers rise in a range of mountains which runs through the centre of the island from north to south. Grizzly bear and deer are found in the mountains, and salmon run in most rivers from May till October. In the past the Ainu lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants and berries.

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese is of long standing and has taken different forms. Before 1599 contact must have been limited. In 1599 Japanese who had established their headquarters in the south-western end (Matsumae) of Hokkaido were recognized as the Japanese Matsumae clan by the Tokugawa Shogunate. They were given rights of ownership in this and the adjacent area as the clan territory (Matsumae-chi). Settlement of Ainu in the area was

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101 The sparse population of the island of Sakhalin consists of three tribes: the Orok, Gilyak, and Ainu. They were there already at the time when the Russians, even the Japanese, landed on the island for [172] the first time. But the first Russian explorers, Lopatin, Polakof, and others who travelled across the island, found there definite traces of an extinct tribe whose members knew only how to make tools of stone but were familiar with pottery. According to the information received from the Ainu they called this mythical tribe Tonchi.

172 Remains of clay huts and ground stone tools found close by, such as axes, arrows, spear-points, potsherds, and whole vessels of clay, shells and bones of various fish and mammals, still wait for an exact scientific archeological examination and evaluation.

173 Since the origin of the aborigines of Sakhalin is an unsolved problem I should like to quote here those legends that circulate among the Ainu themselves and which I have heard from their own mouths.

174 The Gilyak and Orok appeared on the island lured by its wealth. According to their own tales they came much later than the Ainu, who at that time constituted the only inhabitants of Sakhalin. They held the caves which they often found in the river valleys and on mountain slopes and which undoubtedly had been dug by human hands, to be the work of the bearded Ainu living there. The Gilyak called those caves also Kuhi rulkus, i.e. the caves of the Ainu, or Kuhi mrolf taf tulkus, i.e. the excavations of old Ainu huts. Some Gilyak are inclined to consider these caves remains of the dwelling places of their ancestors. Also the Orok call the caves Kuczi goropci nanda, i.e. old dwellings of the Ainu. As to our knowledge of the Tonchi, I have heard about them only from the Gilyak who live around the Niische Bay. This is perhaps because in the south of this gulf Gilyak-Ainu tribes have settled, from whom these legends were taken over by their nearest neighbors. One Gilyak there told me the following tradition: "The Tonchi inhabited mountains in the middle of which there were mountain lakes. They sorely suffered from lack of women and therefore kidnapped some from the Ainu living at the seashore. This caused bloody warfare with the Tonchi, who annihilated this tribe."

I

INTRODUCTION

The Ainu in Hokkaido.

The Ainu are an aboriginal people living in Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the southern part of the Kurile Islands (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944a, p. 7). They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and narrow heads. They number about 17,000 (ibid., p. 7). The Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated in 1940 at about 16,300 (NATORI, 1945, p. 280), a figure which has remained almost stable since 1854[1].

Hokkaido is an island of about 77,900 square kilometres (Tokyo Temmondai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 7), situated north of the Japanese mainland between circ. 41°30′N and 45°30′N and circ. 140°E and 146°E. The northern tip of the island is about 40 kilometres away from Sakhalin and to the northeast of the island the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The annual means of temperature for the years 1921-1950 vary from 5.2°C. to 8.5°C. in different areas in Hokkaido (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 8). There is a long season of snowfall from October to May (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 34 and pp. 36-42) (in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, from November to May). The monthly mean temperatures in the island for the years 1921-1950 indicate below 0°C. for the four months from December to March[2]. Apart from some local differences, at least in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, this is roughly the period of base snow which covers the ground through the winter (Obihiro Sokkō-sho, 1959, p. 8 and p. 24). The island is well wooded: the southwestern part is rich in latifoliate trees represented by beech while the northeastern part abounds in coniferous forests, the representative species being firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis (MIURA, 1933, p. 275 and p. 278)[3]. From north to south through the centre of the island runs a range of hills and mountains the highest of which is Mt. Taisetu, 2290 metres above sea-level and in which the main rivers of Hokkaido have their sources. Among these rivers, the longest is the Ishikari (365 km), followed by the Teshio (306 km) and the Tokapchi (196 km) (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 27). In most of these rivers there are successive runs of salmon, Oncorhynchus masou and O. keta, from early summer to early or mid-winter (OYA, 1954; MIHARA et al., 1951). Among larger land mammals in Hokkaido are brown bear, Ursus arctos, and deer, Cervus nippon (HATTA, 1911; INUKAI, 1933, 1934 and 1952)[4]. The Ainu exploited these resources by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing[5], and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869[6]. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.[7] With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming[8]. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture[9].

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings (HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from The Aborigines of Hokkaido published by Hokkaido Government; Note 40), scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintainance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

11: Watanabe E-4,S (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

121 structure.

The relationship between organisms and environment is usually understood in terms of ecology. Ecology in this sense is the relationship between organisms and environment as recognized objectively by scientists, i.e. objective environment. Animal ecology reveals, however, that objective environment alone is not sufficient to account for animal behaviour, and that subjective environment as perceived by the animal itself plays a significant role in limiting its behaviour (ELTON, 1953, p. xvi; MIYAJI and MORI, 1957, pp. 24-28). The Ainu have their own view of nature: their activities react to and are limited by nature as seen by them. This implies that workings of the Ainu in relation to their habitat should be understood not only in terms of ecology in the narrower sense but also in terms of the relationship between man and nature as perceived by the Ainu themselves. This is the subject of the present paper. It aims to ascertain the reciprocal adjustments of both systems of relations between the Ainu and nature and their group structure.

101 Field trips were made to collect data in the following areas in Hokkaido: Saru valley in August 1951; Azuma, Mukawa and Chitose, or formerly Shikot, valleys in August and December 1952; upper Tokapchi, middle Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet valleys during August and September 1953; upper Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys in August 1954; upper Tokapchi, Otopuke, Kushiro, formerly Kusuri, and Saru valleys in September 1957; Upper Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys in July 1958 and February 1959.

The main portion of the original data incorporated in this paper were collected in the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys, which form the objective areas of this paper. Data from other areas are only referred to on necessary occasions, because the time horizon of these data is, as will be explained later, a little newer than that of the data from the upper Tokapchi,

127 Otopuke and Azuma areas. Except for references cited, the whole text of this paper is based on original data, while the notes are devoted to such original data as can not be given in the text and to citations from and discussions on published materials.

124 The data for the present study were obtained through interview technique. This method, which is usually employed in ethnographical or historical studies of anterior cultures for collecting of the culture elements or traits of a given group, has been seldom applied to functional or conjunctive studies of any group life. Such attempts as made by STEWARD (1938) and DRUCKER (1951), for instance, might be classed as exceptions.

121 The intention of the author was to understand the make-up and working of the Ainu groups of an anterior generation in relation to their habitat; accordingly, some special caution in handling the technique was necessary, viz., determination of a time horizon and indirect observation.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

The date chosen for the study is that immediately preceding the period of great changes brought about in their group life by Japanese interference or the introduction of new farming system under Japanese guidance and superintedence, following the agricultural-land allotment grogramme[1] and the free distribution of farming tools and plant seeds by the Japanese government. Although varying to some extent in different localities in Hokkaido, the period dates after 1883 (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-488; Note 10); in the Tokapchi valley it dates from 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma valley from 1888 (A Chronological Chart of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). With this date as dividing line, there occurred throughout Hokkaido wholesale migrations of settlement groups with attendant dispersions and aggregations. As far as the present study is concerned, for instance, the Nitmap group on the river Tokapchi moved from their old home to a new site allotted downstream; the Ainu on the Otopuke, tributary of the Tokapchi, were suddenly tranformed from their entire gathering life to a new farming life. This visible and sudden change brought on the Hokkaido Ainu was imprinted in the memory of those who experienced it as an epoch-making event in their life histories, the fact which enabled the writer to segregate data pertaining to the Ainu groups prior to the transition. As a necessary procedure to studying groups at the given time horizon, it was important to get into contact with informants who have either experienced the life of the groups themselves as members thereof and also are competent to supply information of that life. Three Ainu informants to satisfy these conditions were made available to the author: Ushintasan (Yoshimura by Japanese family name; female, native resident of Tonika on the river Azuma; died in 1954), Ushino (Kachikawa by Japanese family name; female, native of Nitmap on the river Tokapchi and resident of Memroputu) and Kazari (Hosoda by Japanese family name; female, native of Rucha on the river Otopuke and resident of Otopuke).

It must be remembered that the simple fact that an informant belonged to a group at the given data[2] is no guarantee for his or her information pertaining to the particular group at the particular time horizon. With a view to restricting the information sought to the desired group at the desired date, interviews were conducted by focusing on the visible and concrete activities of that group to which the informants belonged at the date. This means indirect observation by which the investigator may examine indirectly to some extent the actual and concrete workings of the group through descriptive information about the actual daily behaviours and activities of the informant himself in the group and of his fellow members and neighbours. From this concrete but fragmentary information the investigator may extract relations existing between those activities. This process was of particular

1, [Errata: the word "grogramme" should read "programme". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "data" should read "date". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed
648 concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470-472).

(7) In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKA-
[421] KURA, 1942, p. 419). Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers.
[224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and
[226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining
175 undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged
648 the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.
241
177 (8) Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Jap-
[113] anese officials. This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857-58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

175 (9) The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is
648 roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6-7).
177
[101]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fishing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The

[p.90]

II

(10) Historical survey of size and distribution of Ainu settlements.—Reference has already been made in Notes 8 and 9 in Chapter I to the agriculturalization policy for the Ainu adopted by the Japanese Government in its earliest phase of Hokkaido administration (Notes 8-9). The policy was carried out in the northeastern districts in 1883 starting with Ashoro, followed in 1884 by Shiranuka, Akan, Kawakami and Abashiri, and in 1885 in Kusuri (Kushiro), Akkeshi and Shari; for Hitaka district in 1885 in Saru (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 487; for the Tokapchi district in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6, from a publication by Kasai Branchi Office) and for the Azuma district in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). 175 648 241

Prior to this period the natives living near the coasts of the south-western, north-western and south-eastern districts had grown millet and other cereals subsidiary to their gathering. But their farming and the areas under cultivation were insignificant (p. 41). In fact, even those Ainus who practised some farming lived in small settlements scattered over areas chosen for traditional gathering, just as did non-agriculturist Ainus who lived more inland. With many of them the first difficulty lay in finding necessary areas of arable land near enough to their settlements. The consideration led the Government to move those Ainus into more favourable areas as preliminary to enforcing its policy. It was desired at the same time that the hitherto scattered Ainu settlements be brought together into smaller areas which would be convenient for instruction in farming and supervision. Accordingly, the natives of Ashoro, Tushipet and Rikupet were moved to Ashoro, those of Kushiro to tributaries, those of Tokapchi into nine areas on the Tokapchi and three other areas on the Tushipet. Even in fertile Saru there were large-scale removals made by two or three settlements and minor ones by almost all the others (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 487-491). On a field survey by the present writer information was collected relating to some of those removals of settlements in the Shikot, Azuma, Nukapira and Tokapchi valleys as well. 175 648 241 166

Now the present article is concerned primarily with the Ainu settlements as they had been prior to this redistribution period. Even before these movements brought about by the agriculturalization programme, some changes had taken place in Ainu settlements in relation to Japanese activities, namely, the fishery development projects by the Matsumae feudal clan. In 1635, for instance, when the Matsumae government opened Kusuri (Kushiro) fishing grounds, they looked for expedient supply of labour from the upper Kusuri Ainu, whom they transferred en masse to the Kusuri coast (HABARA, 1939, p. 175 648 166 [101] [464]

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
Russian Islands
AINU
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AB6

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brought about by Orthodox Christian missions. Unlike most other peoples of the Soviet Far East the Aleuts of the Commander Islands had been completely Christianized. In the first five years of the Soviet régime there was one church on Bering Island and another one on Medny. By 1934 the church of Bering Island was closed and that of Medny was reported as 'no longer functioning'. An increasing number of voices could be heard, said an official report, urging that the church building should be used for 'cultural needs'.[40] Such 'spontaneous popular movements' for the closing down of churches have often been reported from many parts of Soviet Russia. On the other hand, it is true that the percentage of communist party members in the Aleutian National District is higher than in any other territorial unit, not only in the Far East but in the whole of the U.S.S.R. 35 per cent of the population is organized either in the Communist Party or in the Communist Youth League, according to the latest figures available.

Before the war the local Soviet authorities of the Commander Islands were composed exclusively of natives. However, no undue significance should be attached to this fact, since the Aleuts as a people are half-Russianized, and Russian is the official language in the District. The Aleutian language, which is used by the Soviet Aleuts in their homes and for private conversation, is actually a mixture of Aleutian and Russian, in which Aleutian endings are added to Russian words.[41] Moreover, the inhabitants of the two Commander Islands speak different Aleutian dialects and can converse with each other only in Russian. Russian is also the language in which a small newspaper is printed on Bering Island for the benefit of the Aleuts and the handful of Russians who are all working on the blue fox State farm 'Komodor'. The name of the paper is *The Aleut Star*. Its sub-title shows that the Commander Islands, despite their tiny population, have a highly organized political life. It reads as follows: 'Organ of the Aleutian District Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, the District Executive Committee and the District Trade Union Council.'[42]

In the post-war period considerable attention has been paid to the Commander Islands in connection with the 'cold war'. Their population seems to have increased. An official Soviet report of November 1949 said that the islands had several seven-year schools – only two schools had existed before the war – and that many prefabricated houses had been shipped from the continent.[43]

AINU, RUSSIANS AND JAPANESE

When occupying Southern Sakhalin in 1945, the Soviet authorities took charge not only of a large Japanese population, but also of small

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
AINU 186

groups of aborigines. These included over 300 Tunguz, over 100 Nivkhi* and over 1,500 Ainu. Several hundred Ainu also came under Soviet rule through the annexation of the Kurile Islands. The Soviet Government has tried to strengthen its case for the undivided possession of Sakhalin by asserting that only the Russians were able to establish correct relations with the Ainu, while the Japanese oppressed them. The propagandists of the Soviet régime have even alleged that the Czarist Admiral Nevelskoy, who established Russian rule over Sakhalin, did so with the express purpose 'of defending the Ainu against the acts of violence of foreigners'. The Ainu, the propagandists affirm, gave enthusiastic support to the Russians when they landed in Sakhalin in 1853.[44]

Zadornov, a Soviet writer of historical fiction on the Far East, tries to show that the Ainu are almost fanatically pro-Russian. He asserts in his novel *Distant Country* that the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin looked forward eagerly, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, to the arrival of the Russian liberators. 'We have been waiting for them for many years, we have been waiting for the time when it will be possible to kill the Japanese', Zadornov's Ainu said.[45]

In reality the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin did not seem to be very keen on killing the Japanese or driving them away. In 1875, when the Russian sovereignty over Southern Sakhalin became final, and when the Japanese formally renounced their rights on the island, 800 Sakhalin Ainu left for Hokkaido. They did not return until 1905, after the re-annexation of Karafuto by Japan. For a long time there was a considerable cleavage between these Ainu re-immigrants and their less advanced former fellow-tribesmen, who had never been away from their home island. This cleavage did not disappear until 1933, when all Ainu were granted Japanese citizenship. Originally the Japanese authorities on Karafuto had put five schools at the disposal of the Ainu minority, but when all members of this minority became full Japanese citizens, these schools were abolished, and the Ainu children transferred to Japanese schools.[46]

Since 1945 the Ainu have frequently been mentioned by Soviet propaganda, and their case has become typical of the hypocrisy of Soviet nationalities policy. While several hundred thousand Japanese were expelled from the new Soviet territories, the Ainu were proclaimed 'equal members of the family of Soviet peoples', and at once granted the right to participate in the elections to the Soviet Parliament.[47] Soviet scholars immediately started to study the interesting Ainu people, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences even set up a special branch in Southern

* Under Japanese rule the Tunguz and Nivkhi lived in a native reserve near the town of Shikuka (Poronaysk). Their administrative head was the Karafuto 'reindeer-king', a Yakut, who, with his family, had fled from Soviet territory.

1: Shternberg--37 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus R45
Ainu A86
Sakhalin

/1/

Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region

TAG 197

If a linguistic basis is used for the classification of tribal composition, the aboriginal population of the Amur region /Priamur krai/ (the Amur, Primorye, and Sakhalin oblasts) naturally falls into three completely dissimilar groups: 1) the Tungus group of nationalities, spread throughout the entire region and speaking different dialects of the Manchu-Tungus language; 2) the isolated tribe of the Gilyak, whose language is completely different from the languages of the Siberian peoples and in its structure stands closest of all to the American languages; 3) the equally isolated tribe of the Ainu, speaking a language which is completely distinct from both the Siberian languages and the Americanoid languages, and which has preserved in its structure pronounced features of monosyllabism.

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These groups also differ considerably from one another in other essential traits, which testify to a complete absence of tribal kinship among them, specifically: The Ainu with their characteristic trait -- an abundant hair-covering over the entire body and, in particular, the abundant growth of hair on the face -- still represent an unsolved anomaly among the peoples of the Mongolian tribes, one of whose basic traits is the scarcity of facial growth; furthermore, in their material culture, religion, and family structure (characteristic features of maternality /materniteta/), they display peculiarities which rather bring them close to the peoples of Indonesia, and they are completely distinct from both the Tungus group and the Americanoids (1).

1. See the article, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu problem/," below /untranslated/. Ed.

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/236 cont./
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601 So, let us begin with the Amur peoples. In the Amur region we find two basic ethnic groups -- Paleo-Asiatics, and the Gilyak and the Tungus nationalities and in part the Ainu, joining them from the side of the Japanese archipelago.

We do not have to talk about the Gilyak -- they not only have the Turanian system in its most complete form, but in addition they have preserved the ideal form of the punalua family, the analysis of which has shown us that the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage.

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101 The Ainu tribe, to which, as the neighbors of the Gilyak,
174 we shall devote a special chapter, is excluded from our
601 survey as a tribe that is both racially and linguistically
835 unique among the circle of peoples of northeast Asia. It is equally unique in its family structure. They have a classificatory system, but it differs in many essential respects from the Gilyak and the Tungus. Equally radically different from these latter are their marriage norms and their social organization. Among the Ainu, for instance, marriages are allowed both between the children of brothers and between the children of sisters, and in this respect they resemble more closely the northern Paleo-Asiatics -- the Yukagir and the Chukchee. The features of group marriage in the form of the mutual rights of brothers to each other's wives have been found by me at only a few points, and only the levirate fully coincides with the Gilyak-Tungus. The most important characteris-
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611 tic trait of the Ainu system, however, is the typically pro-
614 nounced maternality and the absence of a clan structure -- a feature which also brings them closer to the northern Paleo-Asiatic group. In any case in /237/ view of the complete isolation of this tribe in all other respects from the group of nationalities in which we are interested, we note only their peculiarities, without engaging in any kind of comparison.

G 101 /16 cont./

It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree, what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely Gilyak, Kthĕus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/

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4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthĕus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

A G [114]

place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is, "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for

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1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

A G 103 361 113 /17 cont./ 1. (cont.) south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts. Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skokhoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Porokotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

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G 361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had G 361 439 been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent inhabitants of the place. The border conditions on the east coast G Gi A 101 361 of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l' Acad. Imp. des sc., de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

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/17 cont./
on the coast with the village of Tschamr-wo and in the interior at the headwaters of the Tymy, but nevertheless in the Gulf of Patience, near where a coastal lake empties in the sea, one still comes across a Gilyak yurt, Ssiska, whose inhabitants Schmidt came to know (4). On the same lake there is an Orok settlement,

4. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 113.

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Tschogbo, to the north a second one, Taran-kotan, and still farther to the north on Lake Taraika, alongside several Orok settlements, the large Ainu village of Taraika (5). Thus, the

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5. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 89, 113, 116. Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 13) thinks that there are Ainu also at the northern point of Sakhalin, between Capes Elisabeth and Maria and even sees in this proof that the Ainu were the original inhabitants of the island, while the Gilyak and the Orok (for him, "Orotschi" /Orochi/) were later immigrants. But this information stands quite alone and is evidently only based upon an erroneous interpretation of Russian reports concerning the number of Ainu villages on Sakhalin, since he thought that the villages noted on the "Okhotsk coast" must be erroneously placed there instead of being sought on Sakhalin's east coast. Why the great number of these villages (22) did not seem to him obstructuve for such an interpretation is incomprehensible, especially since in the same report (Rudanofskij's) the total number of the Ainu villages on the densely populated west coast of Sakhalin is given as 35.

A Gi 101 /17 cont./ dwelling sites of these three peoples intermesh here. These relationships become even more complicated, however, by the fact that the Orok have shoved in between the Gilyak and Ainu not only here, but also in the northern part of the island, where undoubtedly Gilyak territory extends, they have penetrated deeply into it and roam great distances through it on regular nomadic expeditions. We shall learn more about these relationships in the discussion of the area of distribution of the Orok.

A 131 Just as the Gilyak occupy the extreme northeast, the Ainu occupy the extreme southeast of the Amur region as outlined above, and just as the northern half of Sakhalin Island belongs to the former, so /18/ the southern half belongs to the latter. Moreover, it is well-known that they represent the indigenous people [A 101] of Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/ and the Kurile Islands, since the so-called Kuriles are merely Ainu with a language differing in part dialectally. We have already become acquainted with the habitation sites of the Ainu located farthest north on Sakhalin and on the west coast advancing into the Gilyak area. There has likewise been mention of the uninhabited coastal stretch which extends to the south from Porokotan. It ends at 49° north latitude, and then the part of the island inhabited exclusively by Ainu begins. Thus in the west of Sakhalin this deserted coastal stretch forms the actual boundary between the Ainu and the Gilyak, and evidently special, though obvious reasons, which will be discussed later, were required in order to make many an individual of the former A 361 people step over this northern border into foreign territory. Coming from the north, the village of Orokes, located on the small bay of the same name and not far from the Bay d'Estaing, is the first [A 131] in true Ainu territory (1). On the east coast it begins, if one

[A 113 114 103]

1. According to Rudanofskij (Vost. Pomor'e, 1866, p. 95). Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/."—Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 14) gives "Ussuri" as the

Gi 174 169 /21 cont./

words in explanation of it, as well as point out several analogous phenomena in the eastern part of Siberia.

Gi Gi A 101 If we now sum up the ethnographic picture of Sakhalin, there are, aside from the Japanese and Russians, three peoples of quite different tribes, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, who share the possession of this island in the very unequal manner described above. Certainly a rich ethnographic assemblage in view of the, to be sure, great length, but only very small breadth! Through the Gilyak the island is joined to the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the mouth of the Amur River, through the Orok to the rest of the Amur region with its Tungusic population, and, finally, through the Ainu, to Jesso /Yesso/, the Kuriles, and Japan (1).

G. Gi A [113]

1. See my travel report in the Bulletin de la classe physico-mathématique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences, Vol. XIV, p. 186; Mélanges phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 449.

G. Gi 101 361 Let us now return again from Sakhalin to the mainland, and, if we go southward from the borders of the Gilyak area already known to us, we first strike the area of distribution of the Orochi on the seacoast. In its farther reaches this includes the entire continental coast along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, the coastal mountains (Ssichota-alin /Sikhote-Alin/), the upper course of the rivers running from these mountains to the lower Amur and to the Ussuri, and the sources of those streams. Along the seacoast, however, the Orochi territory does not directly join that of the Gilyak, but rather between the two there is a wide stretch of uninhabited country, since the last, southernmost place of the Gilyak is Tschomi on the Liman, while the first, northernmost point of the Orochi is Nangmar or de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay. Between the two and only slightly north of the last-named bay there is the ancient trade route to the sea used

G. Gi [487]

Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

FJ 175 636 36 [113] /76 cont./

4. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht." etc., op. cit., p. 106. A. Brylkin", "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 4).

traveled on the island (1860), he found that the Japanese had already advanced along the west coast to the boundary of the Ainu territory proper. Their northernmost settlement was in Ustomonaipu in the Bay d'Estaing, but their fisheries extended even farther to the north, for in Urotzi he saw a large warehouse for salted salmon, which had been erected by them, and still farther beyond that, north of the Ainu village of Orokes on Cape Chazkopespo, he met Japanese who had erected a bark hut for a temporary stay and were engaged in collecting and drying seatang, Laminaria esculenta (5). Orokes, however,

FJ [226] [251]

A [361] [10] [161]

5. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 73-77.

as we saw above (6), is the northernmost village with a pure Ainu

6. See above, p. 32.

population; to the north of it there is a rather desolate coastal stretch which separates the Ainu area from that of the Gilyak, and beyond this, beginning with Pilja-wo, there are villages with a mixed population of Gilyak and Ainu, in which the latter can only be regarded as isolated here because of the Japanese. /77/ Thus, as early as 1860 the Japanese had reached their goal along the west coast of Sakhalin, if they did not also intend to expand into Gilyak territory.

Only a little later they obtained the same position on the east coast. In 1860 their northernmost point there was Mogunkotan (1). During the summer of 1861 they already occupied

1. Brylkin, op. cit., p. 20.

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SS. /91 cont./
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Concerning the other point touched on above, the very evident preponderance of the Tungusic population in the Amur region on the comprehensive ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia, this at first glance is less striking on our map, and, to be sure, for the reason that on it the Tungusic tribes are not thrown together indiscriminately, but are kept apart by different colors. One need only combine them, however, and contrast them with the tribally different Gilyak and Ainu, in order to have a clear picture of how great their spatial preponderance is over the latter, and, on the other hand, how these latter are limited to only the extreme edge of the continent and the adjacent islands. And so, from the spatial relations of the distribution of peoples in the Amur region, we must already face the idea that the Gilyak and the Ainu were pushed to the edge of the continent by Tungusic peoples -- an idea that will find further proof in the historical and ethnological observations of the following sections.

000 /92/

Section 2

Changes and shifts in the areas of distribution of the Amur peoples in historical times, according to Russian, Chinese, and Japanese reports, along with an examination and interpretation of the tribal names current in the Amur region or concerning it

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If it is not easy, and often hardly possible, to define with any accuracy the present areas of distribution of seminomadic hunting and fishing peoples in a vast area as yet little explored, how many more difficulties appear when it is a matter of questions such as what changes in the areas of distribution of these peoples have taken place in the course of time? When and from where did this or that one of them move into its present location? And what other people did it drive out of it? Also, I must note from the start that quite definite and adequate answers to these

2: Schrenck--244 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu ABG

GJ. FA 101 /117 cont./ A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who himself had repeatedly been with the Japanese on Sakhalin, named them for me as "Ssúmerenkur," expressly noting that this was the name that the Ainu, and following them, the AG [197] Japanese, gave to the Gilyak. Indeed, its origin from the Ainu language is immediately evident from the final syllable, for "kur, kuru, guru" means "man" in it (3). Perhaps, however,

AG [113]

3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 5.

the etymology of the rest of this name can also be explained, for "ssúmari" among the Ainu of Sakhalin means "fox" (4), and

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4. According to Fr. Schmidt; see my "Bemerk. über die Säugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Notes on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles/" (Bullet. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. IV, p. 420; Mél. biol., Vol. IV, p. 105). According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 306; San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Apercu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, transl. from the Japanese-Chinese original, Paris, 1832, p. 245; see also Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf. einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Frankf. on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 301) -- "schumari" and "schiumari."

AG 101 439 so "Ssumarinkur" would mean something like "fox people." I cannot say with certainty what made the Ainu give this name to the Gilyak: perhaps because, as middlemen in the trade between the Ainu and the Manchu-Chinese, they were the principal

A G 101 439 /117 cont./ buyers of the furs captured by them and among them the fox skins common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

G [175] 113 [291]

5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

A F.J. Gi 101 The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective name "Santan" or "S'janta." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after the people (1). Mamia Rinsô's predecessor, the Japanese

A F.J. Gi [103]

Gi 101 175 439 F.J. 101

1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Aniwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

F.J. A 114 103 113

Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3
Ainu AB6

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/118 cont./

1. (cont.)
(see his Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 49, 52, 63).

6i
175 Mamia Rinsô's Predecessor, The Japanese
131 traveler Mogami Tok'nai, who, however, did not travel beyond
F.J. Sakhalin, placed the region of Santan on that part of the main-
175 land closest to the island; according to him, it extended from
114 the mouth of the Amur River, along its right bank, and along
A the seacoast up to about 50° north latitude. For the name of the
F.J. people and the region, however, he had a far-fetched explana-
61 tion from the Chinese language (2). Mamia Rinsô, however,
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2. "Santan," according to this, was supposed to be a more recent name: formerly the region and people were called Itan or Kitan, which means "red-striped savages." With the advancing culture, the barbaric peoples left the coasts and plains and moved back into the mountains; hence they were called San-tan, that is, red men of the mountains. Siebold, in giving this explanation, adds (Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 3) that this region may be found on a map of Japan, copies from a Japanese original, which was published by Reland at the beginning of the last century in Amsterdam, designated with the Chinese characters Han than.

who had visited the Santan region, realized at once that that name comes neither from the Chinese nor from the region and its people, but was given to it by the Ainu and Japanese. His better trained ear enabled him to hear the name Santan also as "S'janta" and "Z'janta" (3). My widely-traveled Olcha from

A FJ Gi 101 [113]

/118 cont./

3. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 198, note 3; also Nippon, I, p. 131).

Tyre also gave the name as "S'janta," with which, according to him, the Ainu and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Janta" is the Gilyak name for the Goldi. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Ainu on Sakhalin and, on the other hand, the major and certainly the oldest middlemen in their trade with the Amur peoples up to the Manchu, it is scarcely conceivable but that the Ainu first became acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Goldi, through the Gilyak. And thus it is understandable that they also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with their language, and extended this name to the Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (4).

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A Gi Gi [113] [175]

4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789, which Middendorff found among the archival papers in Udskoi Ostrog (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 102, note) it is said that the Tungusic name for Sakhalin is "Jankur," one can easily recognize in it, by both the initial and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Ainu designation, through the mediation of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur peoples visiting their island.

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/119/ Though the name Santan or S'janta is plainly used by the Ainu and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Olcha as well as for the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by Mamio Rinsô. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

FJ. /123 cont./
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6. (cont.)
ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832, p. 192. Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126, where the first place is called Usisjam (in Klaproth, and others, also Utsusijam).

and then followed, after a longer interval, the voyages of Mogami Tok'nai and of Mamia Rinsô. Finally, the southern Kuriles /124/ were accidentally discovered no earlier than 1672 by a coastal vessel driven off course (1).

1. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 210; Rinsifée, San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 209; Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126.

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The first information on the Ainu, and, to be sure, first on those of Jesso, that Eruopeans collected comes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We owe it to the Jesuit Fathers, Aloisius Froes (1565) and Hieronymus de Angelis (1622), to the representative of the English Trading Company, John Saris (1613), and to the head of the Dutch trade in Japan, Françoys Caron (1639 and 40). A few years later (1643) the Dutch seafarer Vries came into contact not only with the Ainu on Jesso, but also on Sakhalin, in the bays of Aniwa /Aniva/ and Patience, and on the southern Kuriles (2). All the writers named give their notes,

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2. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tart., ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 46-62; ed. of 1705, pp. 128-152. Siebold, Aardr., etc., pp. 93 ff. Bickmore, "The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," pp. 14 ff. (Amer. Journ. of science, May, 1868). The latter says

/124 cont./

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2. (cont.)
that, according to Krusenstern, Hieronymus de Angelis had come to Sakhalin in 1620, presumably as the first European. I do not know of any place, however, where Krusenstern has said this and I find nothing about it in Siebold.

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in part very interesting, on the Ainu, without designating them by a separate name. The name "Aino" /Ainu/ is found in the European literature for the first time in a work by Eliud Nicolai published in Munich in 1619 (3), in which Jesso, also for the first

3. Newe vnd warhaffte relation, von deme was sich in beederley, das ist, in den West- und Ost- Indien zugetragen /New and true account of what happened in beederley, that is, in the West and East Indies/, etc. (cf. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 151).

time, is mentioned as a separate island, inasmuch as it is said that all earlier maps commit the error of "omitting above Japan (Nippon) a large island called Jezo by the Japanese, Aino-moxoti (Aino-mosiri, i.e., Aino Island) by the inhabitants." Perhaps this book did not become sufficiently well known or perhaps the name of the people was not surmised from the name of the island; suffice it to say that the Ainu remained without any special designation for some time yet, and even La Pérouse and Broughton, who came in contact with them on Jesso and Sakhalin, have no special name for them (4). Only after

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4. Both designate the Ainu only in terms of the respective islands which they inhabit. Thus, Broughton calls the Ainu of Jesso simply the inhabitants of Insu, as they

/124 cont./

4. (cont.)

175 themselves are said to call this island (A
●101 Voyage of discov., London, 1804, pp.
113 89, 272; cf. also Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bem. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Vol. I, p. 303). In passing I should mention that, according to Golownin /Golovnin/ (Zapiski o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" /Notes on His Adventures during His Captivity among the Japanese/, Pt. III, p. 156, note 1) the name that the Ainu of Jesso are said to give their island sounds similar, namely, "Einso-zi," or simply "Einso," from which, corrupted by the Japanese and Europeans, their present name arose. On the other hand, however, an obvious conjecture is that "Einso," or, as I should prefer to spell it, "Ainso" (in Russian in Golownin: ЭЙНЗО /Eynzo/), arose from the above-mentioned "Aino-mosiri" and therefore simply means "Ainu Island." As Broughton did with respect to the inhabitants of Jesso, so did La Pérouse designate the Ainu of Sakhalin simply as "Ségaliens" or "Oku-Jessois," (since in Japanese Oku-Jesso, that is, Great, High, Upper, or, according to Siebold [Nippon, VII, p. 198], Inner Jesso /Yesso/, referred to the country north of Jesso, although he heard that they themselves call their country "Tschoka" (Voyage aut. du monde, Paris, 1797, Vol. III, pp. 36, 115, 118). Krusenstern inquired about this name in vain on Jesso as well as on Sakhalin (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 51), and, according to Fr. Schmidt (in Petermann's Geogr.

/124 cont./

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4. (cont.)
Mittheilungen, 1869, p. 432), it owes its origin to an error, since "tschoka" means "I" and "we" in the Ainu language. (According to Klaproth, too [in Langsdorff's Bemerkung. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Vol. I, p. 302], among the Ainu of Sakhalin "I" is "tschogai"; according to his vocabulary in San kokf, etc., p. 252, it is "toogaĭ, and among the Ainu on Kamchatka, "we" -- "tschogaich"). La Pérouse in his list of Ainu words (op. cit., p. 118) mentions a second name which the natives are said to give for their island, though less frequently than the first; it is "Tanina." Nothing was ever heard later about this alleged name for Sakhalin. Finally, Milet Mureau, the editor of La Pérouse's Voyage, makes the brief remark that the Chinese call Sakhalin "Ta-han" (op. cit., p. 83, note c), which, however, presumably is only a corruption for "Ta-hai," that is, large island, since Iakinf (Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp., St. Petersburg, 1842, Pt. II, pp. 30, 224, note), too, states that among the Chinese Sakhalin is called "Da-tshe-u" (Da-chzheu), i.e., large island. In the history of the Tang dynasty this island is said to be called "Lu-gui" (Iakinf, op. cit., p. 31).

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Krusenstern's trip have Europeans given them the name Aino, /125/ with which they are said to designate themselves (1), and

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1. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 51; Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf

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1. (cont.)
einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, Vol. I, p. 282.

his explanation is found in the fact that the word "aino" or "ainu" means roughly "human being" among all the inhabitants of Jesso, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles belonging to the same tribe (2).

2. Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bemerk. etc., p. 282, note, p. 301; the same, Asia polyglotta, pp. 300, 309; San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 245.

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Through Krusenstern's voyage the name "Karafuto, Karafto," or "Krafto," known from several Japanese maps and referring to an island located north of Jesso, was identified with Sakhalin (3).

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3. Krusenstern, op. cit., pp. 49, 52, and others. As early as 1802 the map center in St. Petersburg had published a map on which the island of "Karafuto" was drawn on the basis of a Japanese map which the Japanese, Kodai, whom Ad. Laxmann in 1792 had to bring back to his native country, had brought to Russia (Krusenstern, op. cit., p. 30). In Matsmai, in the possession of a Japanese official, Laxmann saw a map on which Jesso was entered, as well as another island, which bore the name "Karap" (Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Shortly before, in 1785 or 1786, Rinsifée's work, San kokf tsou ran to sets, had been published in Jedo /Yedo (Tokyo)/ (translated into French by Klaproth and provided with some notes,

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3. (cont.)
Taraika is mentioned as a special place on Krato (Annales des voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, p. 162), while over a century later Rinsifée uses the name Taraikaĭ for the entire country. In recent times still another name has been given as the Ainu designation for Sakhalin: according to Dobrotworskij ("Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/." -- Uchen. Zap. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, Appendix, p. 32), among the Ainu this island is called "Trepun-moširi" (Mizul /Mitsul/, in his Ocherk" ostrova Sakhal. v" sel'sko-khoziaistv. otnosh /Sketch of Sakhalin Island with Reference to Its Agricultural System/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 126, gives as such a name "Trenun-mussir," or simply "Mussir," that is, island), and accordingly the Ainu from Jesso are said to call their countrymen on Sakhalin "Trepun-mosiri-utara." Finally, it should be mentioned here that besides the above-mentioned names for Sakhalin, the Japanese have many others; it is supposedly called "Narubesi" (San kokf, etc., p. 189), "Kita--sima," i.e., island to the north (of Jesso; cf. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198), or also simply "Kita-Jeso," northern Jesso (Araĭ Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 205), etc.

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Even though Vries does not designate the natives in the Gulf of Patience with any special name, there can be no doubt on the basis of his description but that in fact Ainu were involved, and not, say, Orok or Gilyak, who, as was shown above, come in contact with the Ainu in that part of Sakhalin, though in small numbers. Thus, we meet this people in 1643, more than two

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with them, and since they moved back and forth between the mainland and the nearest island, and, on the other hand, the Ainu, too -- who, as Steller says, roam about on the sea as the Tartars do on land -- repeatedly came to Kamchatka, a mixed people made up of Italmen and Ainu was formed on the entire southern part of the peninsula and showed many differences in outward appearance and in language from the Kamchadal living farther north (5). It is therefore not surprising that in the be-

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5. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 23; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, p. 4.

ginning the Russians took the inhabitants of southern Kamchatka for the same people as those inhabiting the islands, the Ainu, and designated them, like the latter, with the name "Kuriles" (6).

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6. Hence the contradiction between the earlier assertions by Müller in his article, "Geographie und Verfassung von Kamtschatka aus verschiedenen schriftl. und mündl. Nachrichten gesammlet zu Jakuzk, 1737 /Geography and Organization of Kamchatka from Various Written and Oral Reports Collected in Yakutsk/" (in the appendix to Steller's Beschreibung von Kamschatka /Description of Kamchatka/ and those by Steller and Krascheninnikof. Müller (op. cit., p. 18) has the Kuriles living on Kamchatka along the east coast as far as Awatscha and on the west coast as far as the Kompakowa River; he speaks of Bolscherezki Kuriles (p. 21); he regards the inhabitants of Schumschu, who, moreover, he has coming from the north, as Kuriles just like those on Poromuschir (p. 45), etc. To be sure, for the Kurile

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6. (cont.)
Islands south of Onekotan, Krascheninnikof gives a faithful translation of Müller's remarks, but for the northern ones, as well as for southern Kamchatka, he ignores them completely, since here he was able to rely upon his own experiences and observations, as well as Steller's. Later (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, 1758 p. 79), Müller agreed with the assertions by Steller and Krascheninnikof and declared that it was nothing but "common usage" among the Russians on Kamchatka to call the inhabitants of the first island and of the mainland to the south of Bolscherezk "Kuriles," whereas they were nothing but Kamchadal with a different language dialectally.

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And they carried the same designation, in adjectival form, over to many localities in southern Kamchatka, as is shown by the names Kurilskoje /128/ osero, Kurilskij Ostrog located on an island in the lake named, Kurilskaja Lopatka, etc.

A 101 175 114

As for the origin of the name "Kuriles" for the Ainu on the island chain to the south of Kamchatka, among the Russian writers since the days of Golownin it became, I might almost say, a custom to derive the name of the people from that of the islands, and the latter from their smoking volcanoes (kuryashchiyasya sopki) (1). Steller, however, has already

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1. Golovnina, Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plenu u Iapontsev", v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 g., Pt. III, St. Petersburg, 1816, p. 158; A. Sgibnev", "Bunt" Ben'evskago v" Kamch. v" 1771 g. /The Revolt of Ben'evskii in Kamchatka in 1771/" Russk.

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1. (cont.)
Starina, 1876, March, p. 534). Polonskij ("Kurily."-- Zap. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 369) went even a step further in that he thought that the name derived from the smoking volcanoes were all the more likely preserved since to the approaching mariner these islands emerged out of the fog in which they were almost constantly wrapped, and thus seemed to be smoking themselves. This derivation of the name "Kuriles" is also repeated in Bickmore's article on the Ainu (Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 18). As an oddity I might give Tronson's assertion that the name Kuriles for the islands came from a lake of the same name (Kurilskoje osero) located in the south of Kamchatka, whose inhabitants had most likely emigrated to the islands (Tronson, Pers. Narrat. of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtsch., Siberia, Tartary, etc. in H. M. S. Barracouta, London, 1859, p. 158).

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Steller, however, has already pointed out that the name Kuriles customary among the Russians for the inhabitants of the like-named islands was connected with the name that the Italmen from Bolschaja reka to Lopatka give to this people and which sounds like "Kuschi" or "Kusi" (2).

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 6, 7, 30.

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He himself, however, erroneously derives this latter name from a special way of dancing customary among this people, that "Kuschi" would mean something like "dancing" or "jumping" (3).

3. Steller, OP CIT., P. 248, note a.

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3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

G A 101 175 Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

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4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

A [192] general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

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5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

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6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

A FJ 175 103 A 101 Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araï Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A FJ 103 175 114 FJ 113

7. Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

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/128 cont./

7. (cont.)
following the same Japanese source. In "Jeso-ki" (p. 211), the Japanese author reports that, according to the inhabitants of Oku-Jesso (Sakhalin Ainu), in the sea to the east there were two islands with the name "Gurumise" and ties this up with the curious conjecture that this information may refer to Greenland, which he had heard of through the Dutch. The editors of the Annales for their part make the remark that "Gurumise" probably were the "Goliai" islands to the north of Sakhalin. Obviously by Goliai they mean the island of Giliat, which was mentioned by Witsen on the basis of old Russian reports (see above, p. 250). Both, however, overlooked the obvious, that Guru-misi itself was "Kuru-misi" and therefore the Kurile Islands. The Japanese call the 37 islands between Jesso and "Kamsikattka or Kamsaska" by the name of "Tsi sima," that is, "the thousand islands" (Rinsifée, San kokf, etc., pp. 193, 195).

000 explanation of that name for the people and the land.

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/129/ The name customary among the Gilyak for the Ainu also reached the Manchu and Chinese. Iakinf, for instance, on the basis of a Chinese topography, calls the three peoples living on Sakhalin "Fjakă, Eluntschun, and Kuă," the latter of which are undoubtedly the Ainu (1). Similarly, the

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1. Iakinf", Statistich. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, Pt. II, p. 30, note. He is wrong, however, when he gives the Kuă as the inhabitants of the central part of the island

/129 cont./

1. (cont.)
and the Eluntschun (Orok) as those of the southern part, whereas it should be the other way around.

Similarly, The archimandrite Palladij mentions the "Kuã" (Ainu) among the peoples of Girin Province, from whom formerly, according to Chinese reports, a large tribute in sable furs was collected for the court of Peking (2). We now understand when in the Chinese

2. Arkh. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Manch'zhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

imperial geography (3) the "Lerkoje" (4), or, as Pauthier (5)

3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien /Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 444.

4. Ritter adds in parenthesis: "Koje of the maps."

5. Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part 1, p. 168.

writes it, "Li-eurh-kou-yé," are named, among others, among the tributary peoples of the Ssan-ssin district. They are the Sakhalin Ainu, for "Laer, Laerch," or "Laer-mif," is the Gilyak name for Sakhalin (6), and "Koje" or "Kuyé" must, after what has been said, refer to the Ainu.

6. Middendorff, too, heard the name

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6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

000 G A 101 after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

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7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyé," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuă, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

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Southeast Siberia RX1
Feudal Japan AB2
Kamchadal RY3
Ainu AB6

000 /192 cont./

"Ssissa" (5). In view of the lack of any contact between the Amur

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5. The Chinese traders on the Amur and Sungari use the same name for the Japanese. Even in the Sungari region Venault heard of a "Si-san" country to the north, which he hoped to reach on his trip down the Amur (1850). On the way, he was told by Chinese traders that they themselves never went to Si-san, but only traded with it through the mediation of the Jupi-tatse. On the basis of all the information that he had collected, he suspected that "Si-san" was the island of Karaftu (Sakhalin) (see his "Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie" -- Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol. II], pp. 207, 215, 222, 224).

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K SS. FJ 101 114 174 177 A 101 A [133] A F.J. 101 175

In view of the lack of any contact between the Amur peoples and the Kamchadal and their completely different languages, the almost identical name that they have for the Japanese indicates that they must have taken it /193/ from the same source. And this source is easily found. It is the Ainu: for the Amur peoples, the Ainu of Sakhalin; for the Kamchadal, the Ainu of the Kuriles. Just as the one bridge, Sakhalin, leads from Jesso /Yesso/, the main island of the Ainu, to the Amur region, so the other bridge, the island chain of the Kuriles, leads from Jesso to Kamchatka. It is known from Japanese as well as European sources that the Ainu of Jesso have a similar name for the Japanese. In the description of Jesso written in the seventeenth century by the Japanese Kannemon and translated by Titsingh (1),

A F.J. [113]

1. "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso," etc., compiled by the interpreter Kannemon and published in 1632; translated by Titsingh,

Feudal Japan AB2
Ainu AB6

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1. (cont.)
Dutch ambassador to Japan (Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 148). Cf. also Klaproth, in San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, p. 228, following the same source.

it is said that the natives of this island call the Japanese "Samo." Broughton gives "Ssitscham" (English spelling: "Seecham") as the name of the Ainu from Jesso for the Japanese (2). According to

A FJ. [113] [114]

2. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North. Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 390. Klaproth evidently repeats the same statement in Langsdorff's Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 303.

Klaproth, it is "Siyamo" (3). Rimskij-Korssakof (4), Rudanofskij,

3. San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 247.

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4. V. R.-K., "Sluch. i zamietki na vintov. shkunie 'Vostok'" /Experiences and Notes on the Propeller Schooner 'Vostok'/" (Morsk. Sborn., 1858, No. 5, Unofficial Part, p. 9).

Schmidt, and others, like I myself, repeatedly heard the Ainu of Sakhalin call the Japanese "Ssisan" and "Ssisam." I know of no specific statement for the Ainu of the Kuriles, but on the basis of the above there can be no doubt but that they, too, have the same designation for the Japanese. And it must certainly be ascribed to a confusion based on a misunderstanding when Kraschenninnikof (5) says that the Kuriles designate the Russians

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5. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., Vol. II, p. 6).

Feudal Japan AB2
Ainu AB6

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with the name of "Ssiissian," since this is obviously the same "Ssisan," that is, their name for the Japanese. La Pérouse was also guilty of a similar confusion when he thought he was justified in deducing from the statements of the Ainu of Sakhalin that they call the island of Jesso "Schischa" (French "Chicha") (6).

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6. Voyage de La Pérouse autour du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, pp. 83 ff.

Although he constantly uses this name in this sense in his travel account, he was not wholly certain about it, for in his glossary of Ainu words (7) it is said that Schischa is the name of an island

7. Op. cit., p. 118.

or of a people to the south of Tschoka (Sakhalin). The editor of his travel account, Milet-Mureau, overlooked this latter statement, and since he clung to the idea that Schischa was Jesso, he corrected Krashchenninikof's (he did not know of Steller) above-mentioned explanation of the name Schischaman so that it should mean, not "Needle Men" but merely "Men from Schischa" (Jesso), and therefore, not the Japanese, but rather the natives of Jesso, that is, the Ainu, were meant by it (8). Milet-Mureau was very

8. Op. cit., p. 112, note b.

proud that the French were obliged to disclose the "ignorance" of the Russians concerning the islands neighboring them and to teach them otherwise, but in fact the latter were much closer to the truth, for by "Schischa" the /194/ Ainu of Sakhalin questioned by La Pérouse, since they pointed toward the south, did not mean the island of Jesso (1), but rather, as we may conclude without

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1. It is therefore understandable why Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 51, 52) inquired in vain in

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Ainu 1B6
Kamchadal RY3
Southeast Siberia RX1

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1. (cont.) Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay on Sakhalin, about the names Schischa (which he gives as "Chica" in a literal rendering of the French spelling or perhaps as the result of an oversight or printing error) and Tschoka, with which La Pérouse had labeled these islands.

any doubt from the correspondence of this name to Ssissa and Ssisam, merely to the Japanese coming from there. The FJ 101 114 "Sühsaman" or "Schischaman" of the Kamchadal are therefore not Ainu from Jesso, but rather, as Steller and Krascheninnikof quite correctly stated, Japanese; but they received this name K 101 192 not from the Italmen word for needle, but, on the contrary, the Kamchadal called the steel needle, because it came from the Japanese, "sühse" or "schisch," i.e., Japanese. On the other hand, they undoubtedly would have had a special term for the bone needle already known to them earlier (2).

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2. That the steel needle and the bone needle, in spite of the fact that they were known to the Kamchadal at different times and were certainly of different shape, were nevertheless supposedly designated with the same term is inconceivable simply because this would presuppose an ability to generalize greater than one finds among a people standing at such a low level of culture.

S.S. 10 In conclusion the names with which the Amur peoples designate the Russians should be mentioned. It seems to be the same among all of them throughout. I have always heard the Russians called "Lotscha" by the peoples of the lower Amur region with whom I myself had dealings for a shorter or longer

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2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

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After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

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The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists